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of a military school, upon offering, with some insistence, his support during the disorders in Paris, was put off by the king with the following startling exhibition of the royal confidence in divine favor: "*Allons, mon cher comte, je vois bien qu'il faut tout vous dire. Eh bien, Polignac a encore eu des apparitions cette nuit; on a lui promis assistance, ordonné de persévérer, en lui promettant une pleine victoire.*"

One cannot read this account of the blindness and incapacity of the youngest of the royal brothers, without recurring constantly to the sorry figure of the elder brother when facing a graver crisis forty years before. There is the same pseudo-religious element, the same reliance upon secret councillors, the same almost ludicrous absence of common sense. And yet, there is a significant change in the attitude of the nation's representatives. Charles X., who was sheltered by ministerial responsibility, departed in peace, while the Prince of Polignac was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Un Ministre—Victor Duruy. Par ERNEST LAVISSE. (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie. 1895.)

M. LAVISSE, to whom we are indebted for this sketch of the life of one of the most eminent historical writers of France, and of one of her most enlightened ministers of Public Instruction, had been one of his pupils at the Normal School, his secretary during the entire period of M. Duruy's ministry and, upon the minister's retirement from the cabinet of Napoleon, he continued to hold equally confidential relations with him until the close of his life in 1894. His prolonged social and personal relations with M. Duruy qualify him to speak of his hero with considerable authority, subject always to the limitations imposed by the obligations and the obscurations of friendship.

Victor Duruy was descended from a Dutch family which was induced to seek employment in the famous Gobelins manufactory in Paris during the ministry of Colbert. For seven generations his family had uninterruptedly contributed, in its way, to the world-wide fame of that institution. In one of its cottages, which had been occupied by the Duruys for more than a century, young Duruy was born September 10, 1811. His father was one of the heads or chefs of one of the departments of that famous industry. Victor was sent early to school in the Rue Pot-de-fer, but at the same time took lessons in drawing at the manufactory by way of hastening his preparation for embracing the family calling, which it was taken for granted he was to follow.

Thus far the history of young Victor differed as little from that of most boys as one hen's egg differs from another. There was no bow of promise in his cloud. The most any one could have predicted for him would have been, late in life, a succession to the post held by his father. But how he was destined to decorate the history of his country rather than the tapestry of the Gobelins he thus proudly recalled, the day he became a

member of the French Academy: "Mine," he said, "has been a singular destiny; at college I entered at the foot and came out at the head; at the École Normale, the same; at the Université I remained longer than any others on the lowest seat, and suddenly was sent to the highest. At sixty-two I had not yet been received at the Institute. And now I am a member of all three academies."

Duruy entered the École Normale at the age of nineteen, where he enjoyed the instruction of Burnouf, Michelet, Ampère and Jouffroy among others. Under such educational influences it is not surprising that the study of history became with him a passion, and the writing and teaching of history his vocation. He graduated from the École Normale in 1833 with the first honors in the *concours* of history.

In the month of January following, he was called to teach history at the Collège Henri IV., in which institution the Duc d'Aumale and the Duc de Montpensier had been recently matriculated, and M. Lavisse gives us to understand that it was on their account that the son of the Gobelins weaver was selected for this position. Here commenced privileged relations with the court. Louis Philippe invited him to a dinner at the Tuileries, which, of course, proved to him a very embarrassing ceremonial, chiefly through what seemed to him the excessive condescension of the royal family. His income from his teachership was but about \$320 a year. To eke out this scanty revenue, he placed a portion of his time at the service of the editor of the *Univers Pittoresque*. At the same time he continued to work on a *Histoire des Romains* which he began soon after leaving the École Normale. For this work, of which two volumes were published in 1843 and 1844, he was rewarded by M. Salvandy, then Minister of Public Instruction, with the Cross of Honor, and with a promotion to a professorship at the Lycée St. Louis, in 1845.

In the Revolution of 1848, Duruy took no part. He afterwards said he had never cried, "Vive la République," "Vive la Monarchie," "Vive le Roi," nor "Vive l'Empereur." In view of the relations which were subsequently established between him and Napoleon III., it is worth noting here that at the election which made Louis Napoleon President, Duruy voted for his rival candidate, General Cavaignac, and when Napoleon made his appeal to have his usurpation of the government confirmed by a *plébiscite*, at the general election in December, 1851, Duruy voted No.

During these troublous years for France, Duruy was very busy with his pen. The third and fourth volumes of his *Histoire des Romains* were ready for the press in 1850, but, as they embraced the period of Cæsar and the Empire, he did not find the times opportune for their publication until 1872, the year after the fall of the Empire and the exile of the Emperor. He also issued the first edition of his *History of Greece*, and also edited the *Collection d'histoire universelle*, for which he wrote the *Histoire de France*, in two volumes, which had a surprising success.

In 1859 Marshal Randon was relieved from the duties of governor-

general of Algiers. He wished the world to know that a mistake had been made in recalling him, and, at the suggestion of one of his officers of ordnance,—not wielding the pen of a ready writer himself,—he sent for Duruy, into whose hands he placed the documents required for that purpose. A brochure was the result, signed by one of the marshal's aids, and published. Shortly after this the marshal became the Minister of War. Seeing one day on the Emperor's table the *Histoire des Romains* of M. Duruy, he said, "What is your Majesty doing with this little book? I know the author, but I did not know that he found readers in such high places." "It is a good book," the Emperor replied, "and I would like to have a talk with its author. Since you know him, tell him to come to see me to-morrow at one o'clock." Some hours after this, one of the imperial lancers was seen riding through the Rue des Poules to announce to the professor the rendezvous which the Emperor had invited. This was the commencement of an acquaintance and of a friendship which appears to have endured, without interruption, through the respective lives of host and guest, and was, in different ways, highly creditable to both.

A few months later, M. Duruy was sent for by M. Rouland, the Minister of Public Instruction, and asked to prepare some notes on the history of the Pontifical States. In three days the required monograph was produced, giving an outline of their history, showing that they were formed like most of the great sovereignties of the world by all sorts of means, especially bad ones, and that they had been and were prejudicial to the Papacy. It concluded with a recommendation that the Vatican be left to the Pope, under the protection of the Catholic powers. The following week the minister recalled M. Duruy, showed him the proofs of his paper, which he excused himself for having put in type, as it was to be submitted to the Emperor, who did not like to read manuscript. He also requested M. Duruy to have it published. Before it was sent to the press, however, the insurgent Pontifical States had surrendered to Piedmont. The Tuilleries government could not, in such a crisis, afford to expose itself to the suspicion of conniving at, or of being in any degree privy to, the insurrectionary movement in the Pontifical States, and therefore Duruy's paper appeared without his signature, with the title of *Papes princes Italiens*. Ten thousand copies are reported to have been sold in a few days.

The Emperor found in this brochure new evidence of Duruy's capacity for being useful to him. In 1861, Duruy was named *Maitre des Conférences* at the Ecole Normale, *Inspecteur de l'Académie de Paris* early in 1862, and in the same year was appointed to the chair of history, which had only just been established in the École Polytechnique. But the student's "peaceful life of thoughtful joy" was soon destined to experience an abrupt and prolonged interruption, and his shoulders subjected to burdens for which, to say the least, they had no special adaptation. In the winter of 1862 M. Moquard, the President's private secretary, sent

for Duruy and said that he was getting old and that the Emperor wished him to have some help in his work, and desired M. Duruy to designate some university man suitable for such a function.

In the progress of the interview it became apparent that the university man upon whom the Emperor's affections were placed was Duruy himself. To reconcile such an application with his duties as inspector of the university, it was arranged that Duruy should pass two hours of every day in the Emperor's cabinet, on condition that nothing should be said about either an official title or compensation. It soon transpired that he was there to assist the biographer of Cæsar and not to relieve the biographer's aged secretary. Among the things about which we are told that he was consulted was a passage in the preface about the imperial biographer's theory of providential men, as to which Duruy is reported to have somewhat disappointed his imperial patron by contesting that theory and remarking that a person charged with the training of a lad should teach him that we "are not slaves, but the architects each of his own fortune." The historian's argument appears to have failed to convince the Emperor, as the passage in question was retained. *Post hoc* if not *propter hoc*, the Emperor soon ceased to counsel with his supplementary secretary about Cæsar and Cæsarism, but got in the habit of conferring with him, confidentially, about more important cabinet questions. At the end of three months, he was gazetted in the *Moniteur* as the Minister of Public Instruction to replace M. Roulard.

Duruy was in the fifty-third year of his age when he entered the cabinet of Louis Napoleon. The Department of Public Instruction in France, during the present century, has been pretty uniformly filled by men selected from her most eminent citizens, but it would be difficult now to name any one better equipped for the discharge of the proper duties of such a department, or as well acquainted with its actual needs at the time of his accession, as Duruy. In the various positions he had held in honorable succession, from that of a pupil to that of inspector-general, he had acquired a familiarity with the kind of instruction given in the schools of France, its merits, its defects, and its abuses, and with all the malign influences to which they were respectively attributable, which it is no presumption to say was not possessed in a greater degree, if an equal, by any other man. He thought, and rightly, that the time and opportunity had come when obscurantism could receive its quietus. With these views it deserves to be said to the credit of the Emperor that he was in cordial sympathy, and no doubt fully justified the hopes and confidences with which Duruy at once began to break the ground for a comprehensive and thorough system of educational reform.

Popular education in France, at this epoch, consisted of a little reading, a little writing, and a little arithmetic, supplemented by a good deal of catechism and Bible history. "Thousands of communes," says M. Lavisse, "were without schools for girls, and most, if not all, hamlets with no schools at all; there were no schools for adults; not a single vil-

large library; teachers were paid only starvation wages, some 5000 female instructors receiving less than \$80 a year, some less than half that sum, and not one of them entitled to a retiring pension, nor any teacher of either sex assured a retiring pension which would yield more than 20 cents a day."

Unhappily the Church of Rome, which claimed and had heretofore enjoyed controlling influence in this department of the government, on the one hand, and the Emperor on the other, were animated by conflicting views in regard to the share which the clergy should have in the education of the people, especially those of the gentler sex, a difference which the Emperor's Italian policy had made irreconcilable. The new minister determined, as the first step to a reform, to put an end to the mediæval system of education which the clergy so tenaciously cherished. Of course he soon had the ecclesiastical hierarchy in full cry upon him. He received little support in the beginning, and soon none from his colleagues in the cabinet, whose experience and observation had taught them, as politicians, to beware of incurring the enmity of the Church. They were quite willing that Duruy and the Emperor should wage war with ultramontanism, and even wished them success, but each said to the Church as the negro said to the copperhead, "If you'll let me alone, I'll let you alone."

Sustained by the Emperor, Duruy effected many reforms; reforms which France has since learned to appreciate. Of this ample evidence is to be found in the honors showered on him by the republican government which succeeded the Empire. With these reforms there is no occasion to trouble the American reader.¹ The only reflection their enumeration would be likely to inspire would be one of wonder that so recently as 1863 France should have required such reforms.

M. Duruy committed an error, if it was in his case an error, which all earnest men are apt to commit who are called into an important public office without any previous experience in governmental administration. He found everything needed change, but he did not realize the impossibility of changing the habits of a nation, for no matter how much the better, all at once. He no doubt precipitated too many changes at a time, each of which affected, unfavorably, the selfish interests of some, and thus incorporated, especially in the Church, a formidable hostility to his administration. He was rated for his extravagance, but no such accusation would have ever been heard of, probably, had he allowed the Church to remain in control of the schools, for the meagreness of the budget for educational purposes was one of the most indefensible and often assailed offences of the administration of Napoleon III. Duruy took credit to

¹ If any of our readers are curious to know the nature and extent of the reforms projected by Duruy, we would refer him to *L'Administration de l'instruction publique de 1863 à 1869*, published by Delalain. In these two volumes may be found all the addresses of the minister, his reports to the Emperor, his circulars and official instructions.

himself for having increased the budget of his ministry from \$3,855,701 to \$5,428,930. He was frequently compelled to invoke the aid of the Emperor to make Fould and Rouher yield to his modest demands. In his desperation sometimes he did not hesitate to appeal directly to the Emperor and ask if he did not fear the reproach that would soon be in all mouths that France spends twenty-five millions of francs for a prefecture, fifty or sixty millions more on opera, and yet begrudges an increase of seven or eight millions upon the ordinary budget for the education of the people.

His official career was a continual struggle with the Church, and without effective sympathy or support from any quarter except from the Emperor, who is believed to have rendered him all the support in his power. But he, alas! had built his house upon the sand; he had sought to reconcile a purely personal government with popular sovereignty. After the Mexican disaster, the Emperor called parliamentary government into existence. The institution of parliamentary government naturally involved an entire change of ministers. It ought not to have been a surprise to Duruy when, shortly after dinner in the evening of the 19th of July, 1869, the following letter from the Emperor was put into his hands:

MY DEAR M. DURUY :—

It is one of the bad sides of the present situation to be compelled to separate myself from a minister who had my confidence and who had rendered great service to public instruction.

If politics have no bowels, the Sovereign has, and he wishes to express to you his regrets. I have charged M. Bourbeau, deputy, to replace you. I hope to see you one of these days, that you may tell me what I can do to testify for you my sincere friendship.

Duruy was shortly after named senator. Then and there his connection with the Empire and with politics practically ended forever.

The morning after Duruy received the imperial missive which restored him to freedom and his library, M. Lavisse tells us, "As I was descending from my chamber, I saw the door of M. Duruy's cabinet half open.¹ The ex-minister was already at work. He had drawn from a *cartonnier* some packages of paper, stained by age, and was looking at them as at an old friend from whom he had been long separated. They were the third volume of *L'Histoire des Romains*. 'Since you are here,' he said, 'you may help me. Let us go to the library.' From thence we brought several armfuls of volumes. Surrounded with them, he was, in a quarter of an hour, hard at work with as little thought of

What the Swede intends and what the French

as if he had never ceased to be a simple professor at the École Normale." The next twenty years and upwards, he devoted himself pretty exclu-

¹ They were lodged at this time at Villeneuve St. Georges.

sively to historical work, except for the short time in which he enlisted for the defence of his country in her calamitous war with Germany.

His History of the Romans, from the remotest times to the death of Theodosius, was published, a volume or two at a time, between the years 1876 and 1885, and is the work by which his historical faculty may be most correctly estimated. It will always rank as one of the half dozen best productions of the French school of history up to the date of its appearance. It was promptly translated into the English, German, and Italian languages, and secured him an election successively into the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, into the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and finally, into the Académie Française. In the intervals of this work, he revised and perfected his *Histoire Grecque*, which is also a standard French classic. When in his eightieth year he had finished these works, he began a review of his *Histoire de France*, with which his long and useful labors as an instructor in this world terminated. It was in this year, 1892, and with a consciousness that the world which he had enjoyed so much and served so honorably was relaxing its hold upon him, that he set down, with a trembling hand, some pages about himself, of which we obtain the following glimpses from M. Lavisson. "He expresses the hope, if any one should occupy himself with him after his grave shall be closed, that justice would be done to his good intentions; he also recalls the fact that many who had been his adversaries had since admitted their error. The paper terminates with these words, 'If the *rappel* shall be beaten for me at the end of this year, 1892, I should say it was a timely end.'" The *rappel*, however, was not beaten for two years yet. He lived until the 25th day of November, 1894.

Duruy was trained to be an educator, and he spent his life as an educator. Even during the six years he spent in the ministry he was an educator and nothing else, running all the educational institutions of France instead of one or more, as before his elevation to the cabinet. He practically littered school-books during the earlier part of his professional life, and the histories upon which his fame is destined to repose were inspired by a desire to supply the student with books of which the literature of his country was lacking. Even in the parenthetical six years spent in the ministry he did not change his vocation. He was in the cabinet but not of it, any farther than as he was official head of the schools of the Empire. He had practically no part in the politics. He was consulted on political matters by no one but the Emperor, to whom he gave little advice which the Emperor was in condition, even when disposed, to accept, surrounded as he was, like Milton's Comus, by "grim aspects and ugly-headed monsters," with

nor ear nor soul to apprehend
The sublime notion and high mystery

of a government of the people, for the people, by the people. Duruy's heart and soul were in the schools, and with the other departments he had scarcely more concern than the humblest clerk in his office.

The Emperor sympathized with him in his efforts to emancipate the educational institutions of his country from mediævalism and expand them to the needs of the times. That was the bond of union between them and, politically speaking, the only one. Duruy is not believed to have advised or directly countenanced any of the repressive measures which the Emperor deemed necessary for the perpetuation of his power and dynasty. He managed, however, under all the gravest disadvantages, greatly to improve the educational system of France, and it is safe to say that he was the only counsellor of the Emperor from whom such results could have been expected; for it was not in that direction that the prizes of politics in France in those day were supposed to lie.

JOHN BIGELOW.

The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., Dean of Winchester. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1895. Two vols., pp. 435, 499.)

FREEMAN's life was uneventful, but is well worthy of a literary memorial. This has been prepared at the request of the Freeman family, by W. R. W. Stephens, Dean of Winchester, the biographer of Dean Hook. The two volumes devoted to Freeman's *Life and Letters* are attractive, readable, and well edited, but very inadequately indexed. The plan of the author is to describe, in an orderly way, Freeman's early life and course of education; his interest in history, architecture, and foreign politics; his pleasant home-life amid country surroundings; his literary, journalistic, and archæological work; his academic and political ambitions; his travels on the continent and his visit to America; his work at Oxford; his winters in Sicily and his fatal journey to Spain. These and many other subjects are rapidly sketched by the biographer and are illustrated in detail by copious extracts from Freeman's letters conveniently grouped by periods. The editor has wisely preserved Freeman's characteristic method of redating his letters when suddenly broken off, and, while venturing some conjectural interpretations and emendations of manuscript, has on the whole adhered closely to Freeman's own views of editorial duty towards dead authors. On this point Freeman thus expressed himself in a letter to Dean Stephens:—

"I have a very strong view about the way of publishing a dead writer's book. Setting aside a spelling-book, a law-book, a book of geometry, where matter is everything and form nothing, I hold that the author's text should appear as he left it. You may work in any corrections or additions (in brackets) that he made himself, but no corrections, no improvements, of any editor. Anything that is positively wrong may of course be pointed out in a note. I would not let editorial work go further. The book should be the record of its own author's mind alike in its strength and in its weakness."

Dean Stephens has refrained from correcting Freeman's bad German, but often calls attention in footnotes to misquotations and an occasional